

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 EA-11 NEA-10 ISO-00 IO-14 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01

PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20 USIA-15 OMB-01 DPW-01 DRC-01

NIC-01 SAJ-01 /143 W

----- 118184

R 291129Z DEC 73

FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 650

INFO AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

AMEMBASSY SAIGON

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L BUDAPEST 4017

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, VN, VS, HU

SUBJECT: PRG VISIT TO BUDAPEST

REF: A) BUDAPEST 3940; SAIGON 21069; C) STATE 249089

1. IN LIGHT SAIGON'S FEELING (REFTEL B) THAT HUNGARIAN-PRG COMMUNIQUE WAS CONSIDERABLY MORE UNSATISFACTORY THAN POLISH-PRG COMMUNIQUE, WE HAVE CAREFULLY STUDIED BOTH TEXTS AND RE-EXAMINED SPEECHES DURING VISIT. WHILE COMMUNIQUE CONTAINED STRONG PRG ACCUSATIONS AGAINST US, OUR CONCLUSION IS THAT GOH DID NOT GO BEYOND POSITION OF POLISH GOVERNMENT. IN SOME RESPECTS IT ITSELF DID NOT GO AS FAR. FOR EXAMPLE, RE SVN, GOH CONDEMNED ONLY "THE ATTITUDE" OF SAIGON REGIME AND IN NEXT SENTENCE REFERRED TO IT AS A "GOVERNMENT". POLES, ON OTHER HAND, JOINED PRG IN CONDEMNING SAIGON "ADMINISTRATION" ITSELF, AND NEVER REFERRED TO IT AS A "GOVERNMENT". ON SPECIFIC EXAMPLE CITED BY SAIGON, HUNGARIAN COMMUNIQUE WAS THEREFORE LESS BAD, NOT WORSE THAN POLISH.

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2. WE ARE ALSO STRUCK BY SOMEWHAT STRONGER EMPHASIS IN GOH PART

OF COMMUNIQUE HERE ON NECESSITY FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. THIS THEME ALSO STRESSED IN PRESIDENT LOSONCZI DINNER STATEMENT WHERE HE NOTED PARIS AGREEMENTS HAD OPENED "OPPORTUNITY FOR POLITICAL EVOLUTION" AND CALLED FOR PERSISTENT EFFORTS BRING ABOUT JUST AND LASTING PEACE. EVEN MORE EXPLICIT WAS HIS STATEMENT AT WORKERS' RALLY THAT GOH HOPES THAT "A LESS PAINFUL FORM OF STRUGGLE WILL COME TO FORE THAT WILL FORCE MILITARY SOLUTION INTO BACKGROUND, AND THAT POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND IDEOLOGICAL FORMS OF STRUGGLE WILL GAIN UPPER HAND." WORDING OF THIS SENTENCE INDICATES IT IS ADDRESSED TO COMMUNIST SIDE. WE WOULD SPECULATE THAT THIS EMPHASIS IS TIED IN WITH REPORT FROM IRDEL AMB SADRI (SAIGON 20839) THAT ESZTERGALYOS COMING HOME THROUGH HANOI TO TELL DRV THAT THERE IS NO CHANCE FOR MILITARY SOLUTION IN THEIR FAVOR IN SVN.

3. AS FAR AS OUR OWN DIRECT INTERESTS ARE CONCERNED WHILE THERE ARE STRONG PRG STATEMENTS AGAINST US IN ITS PART OF COMMUNIQUE THERE IS NO CRITICISM OF US IN HUNGARIAN PORTION. CLOSEST REFERENCE IS TO SAIGON BEING SUPPORTED BY "IMPERIALISTS", SAME CIRCUMLOCUTION USED IN POLISH COMMUNIQUE. IN POLISH COMMUNIQUE THERE WAS NO SPECIFIC CRITICISM OF US, POSSIBLY BECAUSE COMMUNIQUE IS PRINCIPALLY BASED ON POSITIONS AGREED TO BY "BOTH SIDES". HUNGARIANS, ON OTHER HAND, FOLLOWED OPPOSITE COURSE OF ALLOWING PRG TO SAY WHAT I WISHED BUT STATING GOH POSITIONS IN ITS OWN WORDS. DIFFERENCES COMMUNIQUE REVEALS IN ATTITUDES BETWEEN GOH AND PRG ARE AS INTERESTING AS POINTS OF AGREEMENT. IT IS CLEAR THAT GOH TACTIC OF STATING ITS OWN VIEWS ON VN ISSUE WHILE ALLOWING PRG TO ASSERT ITS WAS DELIBERATE CHOICE BECAUSE IN NINE OF LAST TEN PARAS OF COMMUNIQUE (DEALING WITH OTHER ISSUES) "TWO SIDES" TECHNIQUE IS USED. TENTH PARA RELATED TO PRG'S EXPRESSION OF SUPPORT FOR EFFORTS OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES IN FIELD OF EUROPEAN SECURITY.

4. ON OTHER HAND WE NOTE THAT PRESIDENT LOSONCZI, NOT IN HIS FORMAL BANQUET SPEECH BUT AT A WORKERS' RALLY AT IRON FOUNDRY, INCLUDED NUMBER OF SPECIFIC REFERENCES TO US AGGRESSION IN INDOCHINA. REFERENCES WERE SHARP AND NOT VERY PLEASANT. AT SAME TIME HIS STATEMENT ALL REFERRED TO PRE-PARIS AGREEMENTS SITUATION. CONFIDENTIAL

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THERE WERE NO CRITICISMS OF OUR PRESENT POLICY WHATSOEVER, AND THE NATURE OF THE DRAFTING MAKES IT APPEAR AS THOUGH THIS ALSO WAS A DELIBERATE CHOICE. US-HUNGARIAN RELATIONS WOULD BE BETTER OFF HAD LOSONCZI NOT MENTIONED US BY NAME (POLES APPARENTLY DID NOT IN THEIR SPEECHES). STILL HUNGARIANS WERENOT AS DIRECT OR SPECIFIC IN THEIR CRITICISMS OF US IN POST-PARIS AGREEMENTS PERIOD AS PODGORNÝ WHO, IN HIS DEC 18 BANQUET SPEECH IN HONOR OF NGUYEN HUU KHOA, CRITICIZED

PRESENT US ROLE IN VIETNAM CONDEMNING ALLEGED US VIOLATIONS OF PARIS AGREEMENTS (MOSCOW 15806).

5. NEVERTHELESS, WE THINK THAT NET POLITICAL IMPACT OF A COMMUNIQUE THAT INCLUDES STRONG PRG CRITICISM OF US IS LESS DESIRABLE FROM OUR

VIEWPOINT THAN ONE WHICH DID NOT, EVEN THOUGH IT ALSO RESULTED IN BRINGING OUT SOME DIFFERENCES IN ATTITUDE BETWEEN PRG AND GOV. AS INDICATED IN OUR 4016 WE WILL BE TAKING UP MATTER WITH FONOFF IN NEAR FUTURE.

PEDERSEN

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## Message Attributes

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